

COVER SHEET FOR AMENDMENT OF POST-TRAVEL SUBMISSION

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Instructions: Use this form as a cover sheet for any paperwork you may need to submit to the **Office of Public Records** in order to make your Privately Sponsored Post-Travel Submission complete in accordance with Rule 35. **Only complete this form if you need to submit an amendment to a post-travel filing you have already submitted.**

SUBMIT DIRECTLY TO THE OFFICE OF PUBLIC RECORDS IN 232 HART BUILDING

Name of Traveler: Allyson Bell

Employing Office/Committee: Senator Mike Lee

Travel Expenses Paid by (List all sources): The Aspen Institute, Inc (Congressional Program)

Travel Date(s): August 26-August 31

Description/Title of Attached Forms: Itinerary and Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form

Purpose of Amendment (describe the reason for amending original submission): The previous submission did not include the final versions of the documents.

09/26/18
(Date)


(Signature of Traveler)

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THE BALTICS, UKRAINE AND RUSSIA: CHALLENGES FOR U.S. POLICY

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

Conference for Congressional Staff

AGENDA

August 26-31, 2018
Tallinn, Estonia

SUNDAY, August 26:

Congressional staff participants depart Washington, DC at 5:15 pm on SAS #926.

MONDAY, August 27:

Congressional staff participants arrive in Tallinn at 4:00 pm on SAS #1786.

6:30-7:00 pm

Pre-Dinner Remarks
SETTING THE STAGE

Matthew Rojansky, Director, Kennan Institute, Wilson Center

7:00-9:00 pm

Working Dinner

Scholars and congressional staff will explore topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff are rotated daily. Scholars will discuss their perspective on the Baltics, Ukraine and Russia and the challenges for U.S. policy.

TUESDAY, August 28:

7:30-9:00 am

Breakfast available for all participants

9:00-10:45 am

Roundtable Discussions

THE U.S.-RUSSIA BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP: A NEW COLD WAR?

U.S.-Russia relations appear to be at their lowest point for decades, with little prospect of improvement in the near term. Tensions spiked over Ukraine and Syria, and have been exacerbated by allegations that Russia "hacked" the 2016 U.S. election and continues to mount a cyber offensive against U.S. and allied targets. Yet the relationship between Moscow and Washington is arguably the single most consequential bilateral relationship for U.S. and global security. Are the two countries set on an inevitable "collision course" in their respective foreign policies, dictated by divergent national interests and worldviews, or is the current impasse more a function of specific policy disagreements or tensions between stakeholders?

- What are Russia's national interests? What are Russia's aspirations for its role in the world?

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- How do Russia's perceptions of its national interests affect Russia's policy toward the U.S., the European Union, former Soviet states? Does Russia view the U.S. and its European neighbors as threats?
- What are the risks of continued or deepening U.S.-Russia conflict?
- How does each side perceive the role of "hacking" and "cyber attacks" during the 2016 U.S. election and how does this impact core foreign policy concerns?
- What kind of U.S. policies are likely to lead to an outcome where Russia is less of a threat and/or adversary?

Samuel Greene, Director, Russia Initiative, King's College, London

Ivan Timofeev, Russian International Affairs Council, Moscow

10:45 am

Break

11:00am – 1:00pm

THE ROLE OF NATO, OSCE, AND MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS IN EURO-ATLANTIC SECURITY.

The vision of the Helsinki Final Act of 1975 and the Charter of Paris of 1990 was a European and Eurasian region united, not divided, by a common and comprehensive understanding of security. That vision seems far away from today's reality. Russians now assert that two decades of NATO enlargement have demonstrated Washington's indifference to their security concerns, while U.S. allies in NATO identify Russia as an acute threat to their security, and point to Russia's "hybrid" and conventional attacks on Ukraine, Georgia, Estonia and other states as proof of Moscow's aggressive intentions. With both Moscow and Washington accusing the other side of violating foundational nuclear arms control treaties, frequent "near miss" incidents in the air and at sea, and increasing concentrations of conventional military forces operating in close proximity to one another in the Baltic, Black Sea and Eastern Mediterranean regions, the risks of escalation are serious with potentially disastrous consequences.

- Why does Russia see NATO enlargement as a threat?
- What is the risk of military conflict between Russia and NATO, and what can be done to reduce that risk?
- What are the prospects for additional negotiated or unilateral nuclear weapons reductions by the U.S. and Russia?
- How does each side think about "stability"? Is a strategically stable relationship between nuclear powers desirable, or even possible?
- Can the OSCE, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, as the legacy institution of the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, play a more significant role in reconciling increasing divergent conceptions of security in the region?
- What would be necessary to restore the "inclusive" and "comprehensive" thinking about Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security that helped bring the Cold War to a peaceful end?

Reinhard Krumm, Director, Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Vienna

Andrei Sushentsov, Program Director, Valdai Discussion Club Foundation, Moscow

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1:00 pm-2:30 pm

Luncheon Remarks
NATO'S ROLE IN THE BALTICS

*Wing Commander Mark Attrill, Chief of Staff,
NATO Force Integration Unit, Tallinn*

2:30 pm-4:00 pm

Individual Discussions

Congressional staff and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. foreign policy. Scholars available to meet individually with congressional staff for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the morning and luncheon sessions include Samuel Greene, Sergei Utkin, Reinhard Krumm, and Andrei Sushentsov.

7:00-9:00 pm

Working Dinner

Scholars and congressional staff will explore topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff are rotated daily. Scholars will discuss their perspective on the Baltics, Ukraine and Russia and the challenges for U.S. policy.

WEDNESDAY, August 29:

7:30-9:00 am

Breakfast available for all participants

9:00- 10:45 am

Roundtable Discussions

UKRAINE AND THE BALTICS: LEARNING FROM THREE DECADES OF BALANCING REFORM AND NATIONAL SECURITY

The ongoing conflict in Ukraine's Eastern region costs more lives than any other in the post-Soviet region, and appears to be an effective Russian "veto" over Ukraine's closer cooperation with the West, including with NATO. Moreover, the ongoing conflict complicates debates around domestic problems in Ukraine, where oligarchs still exercise a degree of control over politics, media and the economy reminiscent of the pre-Maidan era, "fake news" is ubiquitous, and nationalist forces peddle simplistic but divisive populism. In contrast, despite serious security challenges, the Baltic region has advanced far ahead of other East European and former Soviet neighbors, achieving impressive domestic political and economic reforms, and joining both NATO and the European Union.

- What is the state of the conflict in Ukraine now?
- What is Russia's motivation for intervening in Ukraine? How does it see U.S. and European involvement there?
- Can the Minsk agreements be salvaged as a framework for managing and resolving the Donbas conflict?
- What is the likelihood of further major Russian interference in the former Soviet space? How vulnerable are other states in the post-Soviet region, such as Moldova, Georgia, or Belarus?
- What are the prospects for the dispute over Crimea? Will this be an indefinite obstacle to productive relations between Ukraine and Russia, and between Russia and the West?

- What U.S. and European policies are likely to help lessen the Russian threat to its neighbors?
- How do NATO allies bordering on Russia, such as Estonia, think about their own security and the broader problems for the region?
- What are the lessons from the Baltic States' experience for Ukraine's successful development in the face of severe security challenges?

Kadri Liik, Senior Policy Fellow, European Council on Foreign Affairs, Tallinn
Mikhail Minakov, Associate Professor, Mohylo Academy, Kyiv
Oleksii Semenii, Director, Institute for Global Transformations, Kyiv

10:45 am

Break

11:00am- 1:00pm

FACTORS DRIVING RUSSIAN PUBLIC OPINION TOWARD THE WEST: SANCTIONS, MEDIA, AND NARRATIVE

Under Western sanctions and formal diplomatic isolation since the outbreak of the Ukraine crisis in 2014, Russia has suffered economic decline exacerbated by low global energy and commodity prices and its own lack of structural reform. At various times, thousands of young Russians have turned out in protest against official corruption, in cities across the country, often prompted by online activism. Yet the Russian economy appears set to grow, albeit slowly, and the re-election of President Vladimir Putin in March sets him on a path to remain in power at least through 2024.

- What is the national mood in Russia today, and what are people's main concerns?
- What is the state of the Russian media, civil society, and independent political activity?
- What is the role of nationalism and the politics of historical memory/mythology in Russian politics?
- Is Russia effectively isolated as a result of Western sanctions? How has it pursued non-Western economic relationships and developed new trading blocs as an alternative?
- Is Russia a state in decline or a rising global power? What are Russia's aspirations regarding its role in the world?
- What is the explanation for Vladimir Putin's continuing high popularity? Is it appropriate to think in terms of the longevity of the "Putin system"?

Ekaterina Schulmann, Senior Lecturer, Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy, columnist for Vedomosti, Moscow
Ilya Krasilshchik, Co-founder and Publisher, Meduza Media, Riga, Latvia

1:00-2:30 pm

Luncheon Remarks

U.S. POLICY IN THE BALTICS

Elizabeth Horst, Deputy Chief of Mission, U.S. Embassy, Tallinn

2:30 pm-4:00 pm

Individual Discussions

Congressional staff and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. foreign policy. Scholars available to meet individually with congressional staff for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in the morning and luncheon sessions include Kadri

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Liik, Mikhail Minakov, Oleksiy Seminiy, Ekaterina Schulmann, and Ilya Krasilshchik.

6:30-8:30 pm

Working Dinner

Scholars and congressional staff will explore topics covered in the conference. Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and congressional staff are rotated daily. Scholars will discuss their perspective on the Baltics, Ukraine and Russia and the challenges for U.S. policy.

THURSDAY, August 30:

Educational Day Visit to Narva, on the Russian Border

We will take a day trip to Narva, approximately 120 miles east of Tallinn on the Russian border. Approximately 95 percent of Narva's 60,000 residents speak Russian. Comparisons have been made between eastern Estonia and Crimea as well as Donbas (Eastern Ukraine) due to the superficial similarities that a majority of the population identifies with the Russian language and culture and consumes Russian media. Our meetings in Narva are intended to give participants a basis for assessing whether these comparisons have merit or not.

6:00-6:30 am

Breakfast for all participants

6:30 am

Depart hotel for train station

7:07 am

Train departs Tallinn for Narva, Estonia

7:30 – 9:15 am

Briefing in transit to Narva

**LESSONS FROM UKRAINE FOR RUSSIAN-SPEAKING ESTONIA:
COULD NARVA BE THE NEXT LUHANSK?**

*Riina Kaljurand, Advisor, Policy Planning Department
Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Tallinn*

9:45 am

Arrive in Narva

10:15 am

Educational Visit to ETV+ Television Studio

10:15–11:00 am

Explanation of the Concept of Estonia's Russian language television broadcasts

Sergei Stepanov, ETV+, Narva Studio Production Manager

11:00 am-12:30 pm

**HOW RUSSIAN-SPEAKING ESTONIANS COPE WITH RUSSIAN
IDENTITY IN A NATO COUNTRY**

Kristina Kallas, Director, University of Tartu, Narva College, Narva

Irene Kaosaar, Director, Estonian Integration Foundation, Narva

Vjatseslav Konovalov, former Deputy Mayor, Narva

12:30-2:00 pm

Working Lunch

Discussion continues between congressional staff and scholars on the challenges for the U.S. policy regarding Russia.

2:00 -5:00 pm

Return transit by bus to Tallinn

PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should **NOT** submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee **MUST** also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

-
1. Sponsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors): _____
The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)

 2. Description of the trip: To explore the US policy options regarding the Baltics, Ukraine and Russia

 3. Dates of travel: Aug. 26-31, 2018

 4. Place of travel: Tallinn, Estonia

 5. Name and title of Senate invitees: see attached appendix

 6. I *certify* that the trip fits one of the following categories:
 (A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal **and** no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.
- OR -
 (B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (*see question 9*).
 7. I *certify* that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.
- AND -
 I *certify* that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
 8. I *certify* that:
 The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for *de minimis* lobbyist involvement.
- AND -
 The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (*see question 9*).

9. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 6(B)**

I *certify* that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies:

(A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and one overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip.

- OR -

(B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and two overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip (see questions 6 and 10).

- OR -

(C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *at any point* throughout the trip.

10. **USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)**

If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for Senate invitees to participate in the travel:

11. An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I *certify* that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hour-by-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.

12. Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:

The Aspen Institute Congressional Program (AICP) is the sole sponsor of this conference and

developed the agenda, organized the travel, planned the conference, and invited the participants.

See attached appendix.

13. Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:

Aspen Institute's Congressional Program (AICP) is a non-profit organization, and its broad mission is

conducting nonpartisan forums and the exchange of ideas, on issues impacting the US and the world.

The AICP's conference in Tallinn is for congressional staff members to take an in-depth look. See attached appendix.

14. Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:

The AICP has a 35-year history of conducting non-partisan education forums for members

of Congress. See attached appendix.

15. Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips):

In addition to the conferences, AICP annually offers 25 breakfasts for members of Congress, 5 lunches for congressional staff-each event offering a leading scholar on a key national or international issue.

One congressional staff conference per year is offered on a key foreign or domestic issue.

16. Total Expenses for Each Participant:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith estimate	\$1,600	\$524	\$300	\$93 meeting room expenses
<input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amounts				

17. State whether a) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *without regard* to congressional participation or b) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized *specifically with regard* to congressional participation:

The conference is organized specifically with regard to congressional participants.

18. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip

Tallinn, Estonia provides a central meeting point for international scholars including Russians & experts from the region to provide analysis of Ukraine, Baltics and Russia and their impact on US foreign policy

19. Name and location of hotel or other lodging facility:

Solo Sokos Hotel Estoria - Tallinn, Estonia

20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility:

The hotel offers conference services required including technology and meeting space. Facility security was a key factor including private meeting space and dining rooms

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21. Describe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants compares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:

Lodging and meals are both under the published per diem rates for the time period.

22. Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class travel is necessary:

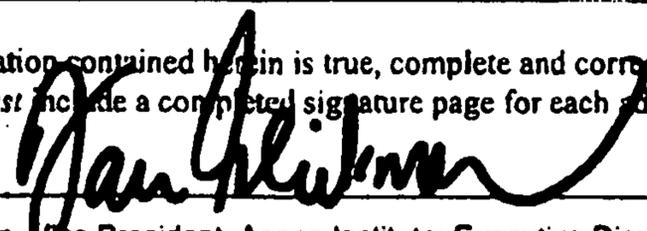
Coach class flights on commercial airline carrier

23. I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not include expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).

24. List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why the entertainment is an integral part of the event:

None

25. I hereby *certify* that the information contained herein is true, complete and correct. (For trips involving more than one sponsor, you *must* include a completed signature page for each additional sponsor):

Signature of Travel Sponsor: 

Name and Title: Dan Glickman, Vice President, Aspen Institute; Executive Director, Congressional Progra

Name of Organization: The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)

Address: 2300 N Street, NW, Washington, DC 20037

Telephone Number: 202-736-5859 (Lisa Jones)

Fax Number: NA

E-mail Address: lisa.jones@aspeninst.org

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Appendix to Senate Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form

Aspen Institute Congressional Program the Baltics, Ukraine and Russia: Challenges for U.S. Policy – Tallinn – August 26-31, 2018

Question 5. Name and title of Senate invitees:

Allyson Bell, Chief of Staff, Senator Mike Lee

Sarah Benzing, Chief of Staff, Senator Sherrod Brown

Maria Mahler-Haug, Military Legislative Assistant, Senator Michael Bennet

James Mazol, National Security Advisor, Senator Roger Wicker

Question 12 – Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting this trip–

The Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)

Aspen Institute is the sole sponsor of this conference on “The Baltics, Ukraine and Russia: Challenges for U.S. Policy. The organization has received general support and unrestricted funds from The Henry Luce Foundation, Democracy Fund foundation, and Rockefeller Brothers Fund Foundation. These foundation funds were not earmarked for a specific trip.

Question 13. briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission.

The AICP’s conference in Tallinn is for congressional staff members to take an in-depth look and to focus on European security, Russian assertiveness and the impact on U.S. foreign policy.

***Question 14.* On occasion, other policy and public programs of The Aspen Institute, Inc., sponsor trips that involve members of Congress or congressional staff.**

***Question 15.* The Aspen Institute holds numerous educational activities, including conferences, roundtables, briefings and other nonpartisan forums on critical issues facing the U.S. and the world.**

***Question 16.* Daily breakdown of meeting room expenses for the per person total of \$93.**

Aug. 28 - \$31

Aug. 29 - \$31

Aug. 30 - \$31

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